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THE RELATION OF THE CÆDMONIAN *EXODUS* TO THE LITURGY

Critical opinion as to the sources of the Cædmonian *Exodus* has been re-examined recently by Dr. Samuel Moore¹ with reference to the supposed evidence that the poet knew and made use of the *De transitu Maris Rubri* of Avitus. In an admirably lucid and thoro manner, Dr. Moore has not only set at naught the principal arguments in favor of this supposition, but he has also shown the futility of prepossessions in its favor. In his conclusion he has declared that the problem of the "immediate source" of the poem is "still unsolved."

By the titles of their editions, the first editors of MS. Junius XI fixed a definite implication upon the study of these so-called Cædmonian poems. But that was not a serious matter. That these pieces are not strictly 'paraphrases of Scripture' was evident enough even to the casual reader; and the more discerning reader was prompt to recognize original compositions in them,—that is original (tho not in a uniform degree) in the sense of being dependent on Scripture for the most part, but independent in the selection and grouping of this material, and artistic in an interweaving of tradition with sacred history and in observing the demands of a central theme. The work of a poet, not that of a mere versifier of Scripture, therefore, became the object of study in each case, and the determination of the poet's purpose, of his subjective qualities, of the peculiar elements of his art, and of his extra-biblical sources and models sprang into prominence in the scholar's concern.

The problem of the *Exodus* has proved to be especially attractive. The poem betrays the hand of a well-endowed and skilful craftsman. He is resourceful in diction, accurate in versification, masterful in condensation, and uniformly elevated in mood. He conforms admirably to the best conventions of his art, and encourages no expectation of feebleness in knowledge or in fitness of expression. These qualities of mind, attainments in knowledge, and maturity in art are inferred from a composition that has invited minute and sympathetic study. Indeed it is the widely shared acknowledgment of the poet's high level of achievement that has sustained the assumption of an interpolation; for the poet stands clearly acquitted of such a marring of an artistic whole as has been and is still by many believed to be wrought by the transporting of an unrelated passage into the middle of the poem.

It shall now be shown that this poem is definitely related to the liturgy; that it is specifically ecclesiastic, having been composed in the church, so to speak, as an echo of the service of one of the most elaborate solemnities of the 'christian year.' More precisely, the poem will be found to be based on Scripture selected to be read on Holy Saturday, a very significantly observed day in the medieval church.

Any brief indication of the ecclesiastical importance of Holy Saturday must disappoint the liturgist, so rich in profoundest meaning and so impressive in external symbols was the long series of devotional observances on this great day, *Sabbatum Magnum*. For the purpose of the present argument, however, little more than an enumeration of certain features of the day's solemnities will suffice.

In the medieval church the ceremonies of Holy Saturday were almost exclusively de-

¹ "On the sources of the Old-English *Exodus*." *Modern Philology* IX, 83-108.

signed for the baptism of the catechumens. This rite was of supreme importance, and the day of its observance was distinguished by "the longest and most trying Service of the Latin Liturgy."²

The catechumens are to be solemnly impressed with the central meaning of the New Dispensation. All the lights in the church are extinguished to represent "the abrogation of the Old Law," and the new light is obtained from the flint to symbolize the "Light of the World" rising from "the rock-hewn sepulchre" (*Passiontide* p. 552). A triple-branched candle, type of the Trinity, receives the new light, and from it, at the proper time, is lighted the Paschal Candle, the most conspicuous and significant object of symbolism employed during the 'season.' This extraordinary symbol, which, to the time of the Reformation, attracted both pious and curious attention in the cathedrals of England, and which is still a feature of the Easter ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church, is briefly described by Guéranger (*op. cit.* p. 558): "It is of an unusual size. It stands alone and is of a pillar-like form. It is the symbol of Christ. Before being lighted, its scriptural type is the pillar of a cloud, which hid the Israelites when they went out from Egypt; under this form, it is the figure of our Lord, when lying lifeless in the tomb. When lighted, we must see in it both the pillar of fire, which guided the people of God, and the glory of our Jesus risen from the grave."³

² Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year: Passiontide and Holy Week*. Translated by Laurence Shephard. London and Leamington, Art and Book Co., 3d ed. 1901, p. 550. This volume, which shall be designated *Passiontide*, and the next volume of the same work, *Paschal Time*, vol. 1, supply admirable comment on the liturgy of the 'season.'

³ The history of the "Great Paschal or Easter Candle" in the Cathedrals of England, and ample comment on the ceremonies connected with it constitute a chapter in *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, by Henry John Feasey, London, Thomas Baker, 1897, pp. 179-234. Alban Butler's *Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1836), Tr. vi, chap. viii, may also be consulted for a view of minor variations in the ceremonial uses of the Candle.

The new light, however, does not only typify Christ and the pillar of fire, but inasmuch as the day of Christ's resurrection fell upon the first day of the week, the first day of creation, the analogy is also given to the original creation of light. The meaning of Easter-tide, therefore, becomes transcendent. Much is reflected in the history of the calendar that is referable to the comprehensive interpretation of the 'season's' significance. This is the beginning of the reign of Christ, the second Adam. Man is regenerated, "born again" and admitted to the privileges of the new citizenship thru the rites of the Church. Men are saved from destruction by water (baptism) as Noah and his family were saved,—a residue of men, comparable to the disciples, that was to repeople the earth as the disciples were to christianize the world. Faith in God is to be affirmed to-day, for by faith men are saved, as were the Israelites when they passed through the Red Sea (a symbol of baptism), in fulfilment of God's promises to Abraham. This is indeed the Christian *Pasch*; and the events of that memorable night of the Passover, when the destroying angel saved the chosen people and the false gods of the world were cast down, are mystically re-enacted at the vigil of Easter.

From the foregoing indication, brief and incomplete, of the thoughts that were to be deepened in the mind and heart of the faithful and especially of the catechumens by the observances of Holy Saturday we pass at once to a consideration of the 'twelve prophecies,' the reading of which constituted so important a part of those observances, and is still enjoined by the Roman Catholic office of the day. These prophecies "have reference to the mysteries of to-day's service." After the reading is finished "a procession is formed to the Baptistry" (*Passiontide*, p. 550).⁴ "The procession moves

⁴ "Twelve prophecies from the Old Testament are read for the instruction of the Catechumens and Faithful; and as an introduction to their end and accomplishment in Christ's Resurrection." Alban Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 275. In a recent book, *Lent and Holy Week, Chapters on Catholic Observance and Ritual*, by Herbert Thurston, S. J. (New York, Long-

from the Church to the Baptistry in the following order. The Paschal Candle (which represents the pillar of fire that guided the Israelites, by night, to the Red Sea, in whose waters they found salvation) goes first, leading on the Catechumens" (*id.*, p. 602).

Before proceeding to observe the relation of the 'prophecies' to the *Exodus*, the well-known fact may be recalled that in the present-day ceremony of baptism, types of that rite, as of old, are taught to be the deluge and the crossing of the Red Sea.⁵ It may also be stated in advance that the poet could not be expected to reproduce the specific dogma of the day's solemnities. Baptism is not a subject for poetry; but national faith and destiny constitute the supreme theme for epic treatment, and that is the theme of this christian epic poem, with its characteristically Germanic coloring.

The 'prophecies' shall now be considered in their order, with comment in each case to indicate briefly what use the poet has made of them.

Most of the selected Scripture of the office might be conjectured from the specific service and symbolism of the day. Thus, the first 'prophecy' (P. 1), which is the first chapter of Genesis, would be expected at the beginning of lessons for the inculcation of the doctrine of the 'Light of the World' and the regeneration of man. The poet must, of course, set aside the doctrine, and cannot admit into his well

mans, Green & Co., 1904), it is stated (p. 427) "That these prophecies had no essential connexion with the instruction of the catechumens, but were simply intended to open the minds and hearts of the whole assembly to the new creation typified in the Easter mystery, may fairly be inferred from the fact that this portion of the service is still retained even in churches which have no baptismal font." This is, of course, not sound reasoning. The historian must know how to deal with survivals. If, on the other hand, "this portion of the service" may be shown to be "a survival of the most primitive form of vigil," that does not constitute a presumption against a later adaptation to the chief ceremony of the day. See also L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 4th ed. Paris, 1908, p. 315 f.

⁵The baptismal prayer in the *Book of Common Prayer*, may be compared with *Passiontide*, p. 605. The apostolic passage is *I Peter* III, 20, 21 (*Paschal Time* I, 296 f.).

constructed introduction (1-29). more of the theme of creation than may be incidentally combined with the name of Deity when Moses is called to his mission (22-29). One may therefore assume that the introduction of the thought of lines 25-27 into the history that was obtained from *Ex.* III and VI is due to P. 1.

As to this setting aside of the account of creation, nothing more shall be said in this connection than to express the conviction that the same poetic judgment that excluded the subject from the plan of the *Exodus* led also to such a treatment of it as is found in the poem *Genesis*.

P. 2 is exceptionally long; it consists of the three chapters (with a few slight omissions) in which the account of the deluge is given, *Gen.* VI, VII, VIII. The ark is a type of the church, and the flood typifies baptism. The poet's use of this first great deliverance from destruction by water is very brief and strictly episodic (see P. 3). In accord with the dominating thought of the poem, the emphasis is on the faith of Noah (*hålige trøowa*, 366) and the saving of his family and of a remnant of all life.

P. 3 is *Gen.* XXII, and furnishes the subject for the most important contributory episode in the poem. The poet measures the line of descent from Noah to Abraham, for the trial of Abraham led to the exaltation of the covenant begun with Noah (*Gen.* vi, 18) to its highest national significance. Abraham became the father of the nation (*him wæs æn fæder*, 353) and to him were made the promises that sustained the national mind. The faith of Abraham and the destiny of his seed govern the plan of the poem, and the poet has shown admirable constructive ingenuity in placing this passage so centrally in his composition. Admirable also is the historical completeness gained by the extension of the passage backward to embrace the story of Noah,—an extension that is not introduced abruptly by *nīwe flōdas* (362), but after the mind has been led to reflect on the origin of the *Israēla cyn*.

P. 4 and P. 9: *Ex.* XIV, 24-xv, 1 and XII, 1-12. These may be taken together, inasmuch as they consist of sections of the two chapters

that supply the centrally significant portion of the poet's material. After an introduction (cf. P. 1), the story of the poem is begun with the three important events of the night of the passover (Note * 33-42), which are recorded in the chapter of P. 9. In the case of P. 4 there is a noticeable extension into the following chapter. The added words (xv, 1), "Tunc cecinit Moyses et filii Israel carmen hoc Domino et dixerunt," served to introduce the Canticle of Moses and the response of the women, which was then sung immediately after the reading of this 'prophecy' (*Passiontide*, p. 580). The canticle was again sung during the procession from the baptistry to the church (*id.*, p. 616),⁷ and, as is clearly implied, during the daily repetition of this procession, which was observed by the white-robed neophytes thruout the following week.⁸

P. 5, *Isaiah* lv, is appropriate enough with its invitation to the catechumens, "come ye to the waters," and its emphasis on the "covenant" God makes with his people (3-5). There is obviously not much here that the poet could use; yet there is something, and he has, apparently, made notable use of it. The promise to Abraham in P. 3 is reproduced in lines 432-446; but this passage is preceded by an unusual formula, meaning that 'heaven and earth cannot annul the words of the glorious God, for these are wider in their extension than the embrace of earth, ocean, and firmament' (cf. Note 427-431). Such passages as *Jeremiah* xxxi, 37, *Nehemiah* ix, 6, and *Habakkuk* iii, 6 may be considered in this connection, but no

biblical expression seems to be as close to the poet's cosmic thought as P. 5, 8-11. At all events, that this is the basis of the passage in question is a reasonable inference from the poet's unquestionable use of the 'prophecies.'

P. 6 is the eloquent exhortation of *Baruch* iii (9-32) to consider *Wisdom*. None of the poet's moralizing lines seem to be related to this 'prophecy.'

P. 7 was not available for the poem. It is *Ezekiel* xxxvii and is applied to the transcendent dogma of the season, that of the resurrection. Except in the most general manner, this prophet too is not to be reckoned among the *bōceras* of line 530.

P. 8 is *Isaiah* iv, the short chapter concerning the admission of the "seven women" to the company of the cleansed and protected daughters of Zion. The closing verses are pertinent to the argument in hand:

"5. Et creabit Dominus super omnem locum montis Sion, et ubi inuocatus est, nubem per diem, et fumum et splendorem ignis flammantis in nocte: super omnem enim gloriam protectio. 6. Et tabernaculum erit in umbraculum diei ab aestu, et in securitatem, et absconsionem a turbine et a pluvia."

The occurrence of this passage within the compass of the 'prophecies' must certainly close all controversy concerning the poet's indebtedness for the detail, *fær hālig God, wið færbryne folc gescylde* (71-72); altho this does not exclude the possibility of the poet's confirmatory knowledge of such Scripture as *Ps.* civ (cv) 39 and perhaps *Wisd.* xix, 7.⁹

P. 10 (*Jonah* iii) and P. 11 (*Deut.* xxxi, 22-30) may be dismissed with very few words. The first is appropriate to the day as a lesson on repentance; the second is to admonish the catechumens to be "faithful to their promise, and remember that God is the avenger of every infringement of so solemn a vow" (*Passiontide*, p. 594). There is apparently nothing in the

* A reference to Note directs the reader to *Mod. Lang. Notes* xvii, 13-19.

⁷ Space is lacking for a collation of liturgic authorities; but the practice does not require further proof (cf. Dr. Samuel Moore, *loc. cit.*, p. 97). This is the specifically appropriate use of the canticle: "The sublime Canticle of Moses . . . forms part of Thursday's Lauds during the whole year. It is peculiarly appropriate now, when our Catechumens are about to receive holy baptism. The Font will be their Red Sea," etc. (*Passiontide*, p. 342).

⁸ This must be the practice recorded in the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* 3283-3290. [E. E. T. S. No. 7.]

⁹ Dr. Samuel Moore has supplied the last reference (*loc. cit.*, p. 89) and increased the interest of this detail by his citations from the commentaries.

poem that may be said to be derived either from these two passages or from the last canticle of Moses (*Deut.* XXXII), from which a 'tract' is introduced after the reading of P. 11.

The last 'prophecy' remains to be mentioned, and it is of special importance. If the argument that the preceding 'prophecies' embrace what may be designated the direct source of the *Exodus* is sufficiently sustained by such an enumeration of them as has now been made, with an indication of the unifying purpose of their ritualistic use, the additional inquiry of how it has come to pass that the *Exodus* is followed in the ms. by the *Daniel* will also be conclusively answered by the observation that the twelfth 'prophecy' is *Dan.* III, 1-24 (Vulgate).

From the history of the three young men that were cast into the fiery furnace the catechumens are, in the last lesson before their baptism, to be instructed in the heroism of the martyrs, in the severities of the Christian warfare. This history could not, of course, be admitted into the definitely planned *Exodus*; but inasmuch as all the other circumstantial histories embraced in the 'prophecies' had been fittingly wrought into the poem, the complete omission of this especially significant history, kept before the popular mind by the liturgical use of both the prayer of Azarias and the 'Song of the three children,' would have occasioned legitimate surprise. At all events, the poet has escaped the charge of incompleteness in his treatment of the histories, the epic material, embraced in the 'prophecies' by the composition of a separate poem on this remaining subject.

Further consideration of the *Daniel* must be deferred to another occasion. The presumption that has now been established in favor of accepting the second composition as the work of the poet of the *Exodus* is, in my judgment, convertible into conviction; but the limits of the present communication enforce restriction to observations on the *Exodus*.

To return, then, to the *Exodus*, the selected Scripture upon which it is based and the liturgic purpose of the selection prove the poem to be a *carmen paschale*. As such its most famous predecessor is the poem by Caelius Sedulius.

The succession may be said to be in the line of kinship in the sense that both compositions represent the relation of poetic themes to the specific teachings of the church, when the significant events that marked off the periods of the solemnities at the altar rather than the sensuous joy in the seasons of nature inspired the poet. But there is a wide difference in attitude to theme between the poets, corresponding to the difference between a controversial and a settled faith. In the former state art is fettered by dogma; in the latter, dogma being established, art again becomes free. The two poems are, therefore, so unlike in character that by contrast each serves to give precision of definition to what is peculiar to the other. The earlier poet, in his revolt against the paganism of the classical writers, avows the purpose of celebrating in verse the Christian pasch, the supreme fact in the miraculous intervention of the power of the true Olympus in the affairs of men. But this purpose is not brought under the law of an artistic structure. The subject is handled more in the manner of a narrative poet with the super-added qualities of an intensely controversial homilist. A loosely articulated plan admits into the first book a mystically doctrinaire description of a series of Old Testament events that are held together merely by the common miracle of the arrest, by Deity, of the laws of nature. Inevitably important in this chronological sequence of events are the deluge, the trial of Abraham, the crossing of the Red Sea, and the triumph of the men in the fiery furnace; but there is, of course, no grouping according to liturgic convention. The plan of the poem is too wide for that. These 'indirections to find direction out' are employed to lead to the compelling wonder and significance of the culminating fact. And there is liberal compensation for a deferred purpose in the highly figurative, if too often overwrought, expression of a passionate zealot, whatever may be thought of the judgment of the poet's best friend at whose request a prose version of the poem was prepared. Granting the aim and method of the poet in the recital of historic events, one may still be accessible to surprise at the poet's

unrestrained mysticism, by which, for example, the crossing of the Red Sea is interpreted as a christian baptism. The entire passage may be cited to illustrate some of the characteristics of this once widely admired and influential poem.¹⁰

Peruia diuisi patuerunt caerula ponti
In geminum reuoluta latus, nudataque tellus
Cognatis spoliatur aquis, ac turba pedestris
Intrat in absentis pelagi mare, perque profundum
Sicca peregrinas stupuerunt marmora plantas.
Mutauit natura enim, mediumque per aequor
Ingrediens populus rude iam baptismus gerebat,
Cui dux Christus erat, clamat nam lectio: multas
Vox Domini super extat aquas; uox denique uerbum
est.

Verbum Christus adest, geminae qui consona legis
Testamenta regens ueterem patefecit abyssum,
Vt doctrina sequens planis incederet aruis.

Carmen Paschale (ed. J. Huemer) I, 136-147.

It was, as Schönbach declares, in the school of such poets as Sedulius that the Christian poets of early Germanic times were trained. The figurative extravagance of the Latin lines just cited do not strangely affect a reader of the *Exodus*. Indeed it would not be a discrediting of inherent possibilities to believe such a passage, for example, as *Exodus* 466-475 to have been directly translated from Sedulius or one of his followers. But this digression has been for the purpose of securing by contrast a sharper outline of the epic features of the *Exodus*.

The poet of the *Exodus* rejects all ecclesiastic dogmatism, and from professionally selected

Scripture selects an historic unit of greatest import as the concrete manifestation of his theme, the national destiny of a people that relies steadfastly on Deity,—the reward of faith in the God of the nation. So far as there is departure from objective history into general moralization, this is infrequent and restrained, and does not, perhaps, transgress the formal limits of the *genre*. It is the sustained epic character of the *Exodus*,—it is hardly surpassed as an example of the eposodic type,—that is made distinct by comparison with the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius. A similar relation may be observed instructively between the *Heliland* and the non-epic composition of Otfrid. But there is in this case no such sharp contrast in the handling of a definitely restricted theme as in that of the two paschal poems.

From the foregoing observations and the notes published in the January number of this periodical, a coherence in the structure of the *Exodus* becomes manifest that cancels all warrant of any critical disintegration of the transmitted text. The introduction is accounted for as well as the so-called interpolation of ll. 362-446. But a word remains to be said concerning the poet's selection of the three events of the night of the passover for the beginning of his poem. What is now to be noticed is the liturgic sanction of this selection. Not only does the record of these events (*Ex.* XII, 12, 35, 36) occur in the chapter from which the ninth 'prophecy' was taken, but the symbolic interpretation of these events is the specific lesson of the vigil of Easter and pervades the instruction of the 'season.' Guéranger is explicit on this point in his chapter on "the office of vespers for Sundays and feasts during paschal time." He is commenting on the use of *Ps.* CXIII, which "speaks of the ancient Pasch (the exodus from Egypt) and the prodigies that accompanied and followed it; of the Red Sea, the figure of Baptism; . . . and of the abolition of idol-worship. Our christian Pasch and Pentecost are the fulfilment of all these figures" (*Paschal Time* I, 96). Farther on (*id.* p. 223) the two "prodigies" recorded

¹⁰ See especially Adolf Ebert, *Gesch. d. Christl.-lat. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1874, I, 358 f.; M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. Christl.-lat. Poesie*, Stuttgart, 1891, 303 f.; and J. Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia* [Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum], Vindobonae, 1885. Anton E. Schönbach's judgment is compactly stated in *Cosmopolis* I, 609 f.: "Das 'Carmen Paschale' des Sedulius, eines Zeitgenossen des Juvencus, ringt nach denselben Ziele [i. e. a 'harmonized' evangel: das einheitliche Leben Christi], vermag es aber in seiner gespreizten, schwülstigen Sprache noch weniger zu erreichen, trotz der beigegebenen Paraphrase in Prosa und trotz des Umstandes, dass gerade die geheimnisvolle Schwierigkeit des Ausdrucks das Werk den Schulmeistern des Mittelalters als erwünschten Lehrstoff empfahl."

in *Ex.* XII, 12 (the death of the first-born and the visitation upon the gods of Egypt)¹¹ are expounded as showing the Pasch to be "a day of judgment, a day of terrible justice upon the enemies of God; but, for that very reason, it is a day of deliverance for Israel." The despoiling of the Egyptians is not so obviously a symbol of spiritual truth. For the poet's purpose this detail, when exalted in significance (Note 32-42), is almost indispensable; and one must understand it to be correspondingly elevated as a symbol of spiritual import in one of Adam of Saint-Victor's sequences (*Paschal Time* I, 263): "Haec Aegyptum spoliauit | Et Hebreos liberauit | De fornace ferrea." Altho the subduing of Satan expressed in one of the paschal hymns (*id.* pp. 37, 99) may be referred to the descent into hell, which is apparently sometimes blended with the destruction of the idols, it is clear enough that the detail under consideration was also distinctly kept in mind during the 'season': "Yet a little while, and the altars of the false gods shall everywhere be destroyed," runs the comment of Guéranger (*id.* p. 225).

After considering the principal reflections of the liturgy in the *Exodus*, one is tempted to see an indication of the poet's absorption in the ritualistic significance of his theme in such a minor detail as the expression *dag was mære* (Note 47). Not to press the point too far, one must observe that the Scriptural emphasis on the importance of keeping 'this day' in perpetual remembrance is greatly intensified by ritualistic repetition. Thus, the 'Gradual' which is said only on the first six days (beginning with Easter Sunday) of the "paschal joy" (*Paschal Time* I, 56) consists of *Ps.* CXVII, 24, "Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus; exultemus et laetemur" (*id.* 164, 211, 230, 250, 277, 298, 320); the 'versicle' is varied from day to day, and this may be kept in mind as a symbol of the group of transcendent

meanings assigned to the 'day.' There is also a paschal anthem (*id.* p. 152) and an important sequence (*id.* 263) that repeat this note, which is still maintained in the services and in musical compositions composed for the 'season.'

A consideration of the poet's use of Scripture not adjacent to the formal limits of the 'prophecies' and of historic and expository tradition is excluded from the present discussion. All that pertains to this side of the subject merely confirms the judgment passed on the efficiency of the poet as a constructive craftsman and does not invalidate a shred of the foregoing argument. Besides, assuming the argument to be valid, a presumption is established which, however apparent, remains to be tested in detail. It is the presumption, to add a final word, that Anglo-Saxon poetry as a whole stands in closer relation to the liturgy than has been assumed hitherto. One has only to call to mind such subjects and themes as the invention of the cross, the descent into hell, the final doom, the distribution of gifts among men, etc., and both poetry and liturgy alike are suggested. And in this connection it is impossible not to be impressed with the wider significance of such an investigation as that by which Professor Schönbach¹² has been led to conclude that Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* is based on the pericopes of the service-book. The comprehensive inference is that the ecclesiastical calendar, which was the educational and emotional director of all classes, stood in a relation to the literature of the early epic period that is comparable to the relation between liturgy and drama in the period following the emergence of the dramatic *Quem quæritis*. In both periods doctrine and rite had control of the popular consciousness and were therefore available for artistic treatment.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

¹¹ I shall take this occasion to add that perhaps the most direct suggestion for the expression *þær Drihten cwām* (Note 45-47) is to be seen in "descendi ut liberem eum de manibus Aegyptiorum" (*Ex.* III, 8).

¹² See *Zs. f. d. Altertum* XXXVIII, 209-217, and the articles that follow in *id.* XXXIX and XL; and *Cosmopolis* I, 611 f.